

PATRIOTISM:

A

POLITICAL SATIRE.

By CATO REDIVIVUS.

INSTRUCTIVE Satire, true to Virtue's Cause !
Thou shining *Supplement* of Public Laws !
When *flatter'd Crimes* of a licentious Age,
Reproach our Silence, and demand our Rage ;
When the *Law* shews her Teeth, but dares not bite,
And *tr-t-r-s Actions* are not brought to light ;
When Men grow great from a *Revenue spent*,
And fly from Bailiffs into Parliament,
Shall Authors *smile* in such illustrious Days,
And *satirize* with nothing — but their *Praise* ?

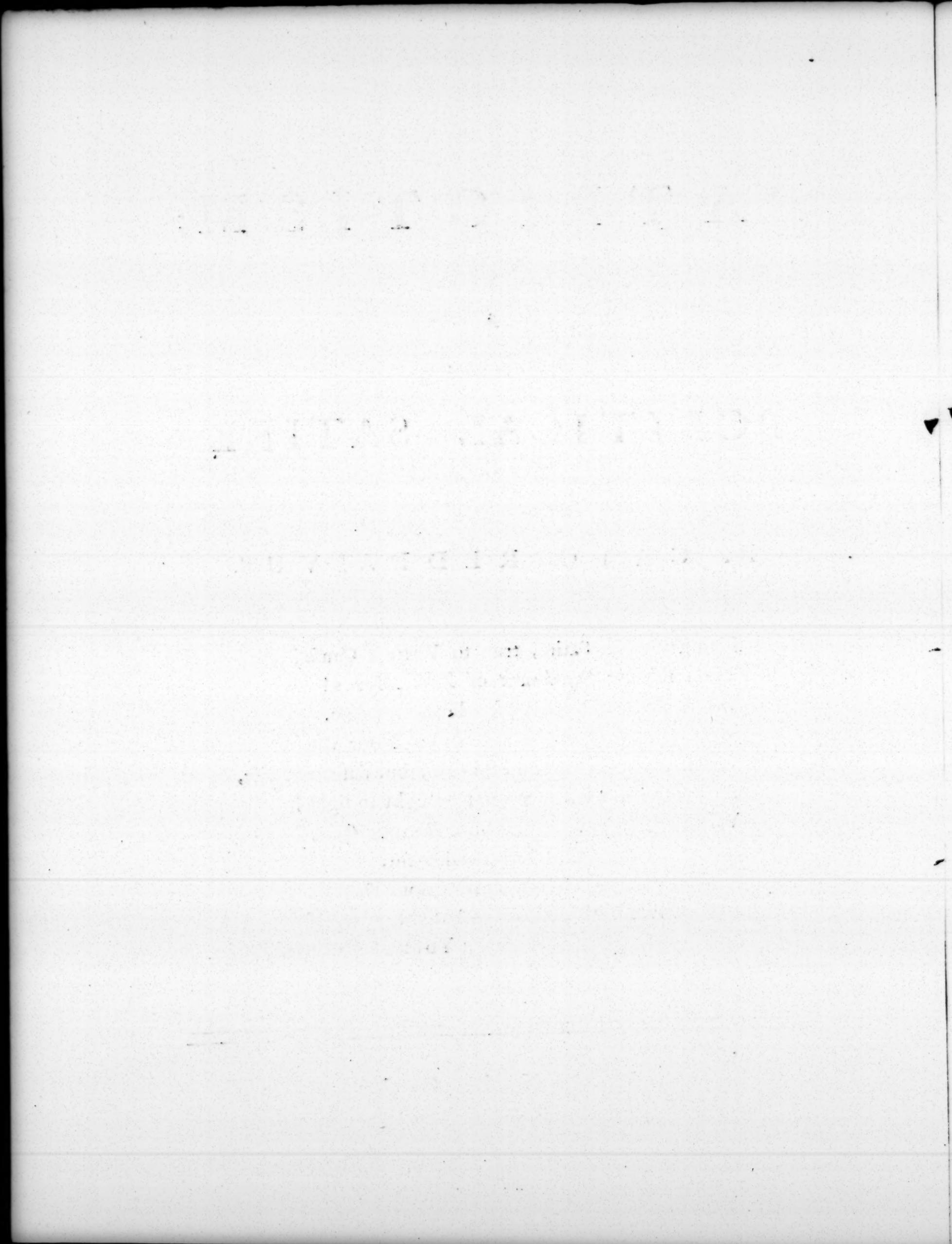
YOUNG's *Universal Passion.*

L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.

THE following POEM owes its Birth to no *Self-interested* or *Party* View, being solely intended as an impartial Lesson to the Author's *Compatriots* of *Virtue* and *Liberty*, to drag out from their *Lurking-holes*, and pluck off the *Mask* from the *disguised Enemies* of their Country; to *caution* the *Unwary*, to *rouse* the *Indolent*, and, if it be possible, raise in a *N—t—n*, *almost sunk in Despair*, a Spirit—not unbecoming that *true Loyalty* which is due to the *BEST of KINGS*, but at the same Time not possible to be withheld even by the *Wealth*, the *Interest*, or the *Arts* of the most *powerful Criminal*, while a *Spark of LIBERTY* remains *unextinguished* in the Breasts of *ENGLISHMEN*. The *Reputation* of the Author is superior to the Imputation of *Vanity*, that concomitant Symptom of an almost epidemical Disease—the *Cacoethes Scribendi*; the *Integrity* of the Author, impervious to the *Rays of ministerial Sunshine*. To be subservient to a Party is, in his Opinion, the *base Office of a Slave*; because the *Eye of Party* sees nothing but quite *white* or quite *black*, observes no Degrees between them, and can distinguish no middle Colour that partakes of *both*. To please or displease *any Party*, therefore, was not the *End* of the Author. As a Proof of his *Impartiality*, he has stigmatized the Heads of *all Parties*, from a Conviction that the *Fever of Party*, that *Lues Britannica*, if not soon remedied, like *CORRUPTION*, cannot otherwise terminate than in the *Destruction of the BODY POLITIC*. Nothing can demonstrate

strate the *Absurdity*, I was going to say *Villainy*, of *Party* more clearly, than that an *honest* Man *will not*, a *candid* Man *cannot*, defend *any* Party in *all* Particulars; because *every* Party in *some* Particulars does Things which cannot be defended. The Civil Wars which overwhelmed, and at length ended in the RUIN of OLD ROME, first took their Rise from an Eagerness which GREAT MEN shewed for POWER and EMPLOYMENTS. Hence arose PARTIES, supported by BRIBERY and CORRUPTION in all the *Elections of Magistrates*; a Practice which, if it be suffered to take Root and spread itself in *any* Nation, Experience of past Ages teaches us, can end only in *absolute Monarchy*;—that Tyranny of ONE Man.

If we call back to our Memories those *Party* Divisions in *our own* Nation only, whose *Contests* formerly brought even the *fundamental Principles* of our CONSTITUTION into Question, and whose *Excesses* brought LIBERTY to the very Brink of Ruin, it is not unnatural to imagine, that the bare Reflections necessarily arising to every Lover of his Country from such fatal Incidents, might *animate* some Persons of *high Distinction*, *great Character*, *Abilities*, and *Merit*, who have *enlisted* themselves under the *Banner* of *Party* through a *Lust* for *Power* and *Employments*, to allay those Heats that at present rage among them, and distract the Nation—to adhere to the *true Ideas* of our CONSTITUTION, and *revive* in the Minds of Men the *Spirit* of it—to prevent the Dangers that threaten to arise from CORRUPTION to the *Independency* of PARLIAMENT and the *Freedom* of Elections,—and *thereby* unite Men of *all Denominations* in Support of the PRINCIPLES, in *Defence* of the MEANS, and in *Pursuit* of the ENDS of the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, that *Foundation* of the present HAPPY SETTLEMENT of the Throne, that *only Support* of the *Superstructure*; for upon the *Principles* of it the *present Establishment* was *built*, and upon *them alone* it can stand *secure*. Whatever strengthens the *Foundation*, must strengthen the *Superstructure*, and *both*, co-operating, promote the *important Interest* of our COUNTRY, the

true

true Interest of our *Royal Master*, and the *private* Interest of every Individual in a **FREE** State: I say the *true* Interest of our *Royal Master*; for a *Prince*, who prefers *right Policy* to *Trick*, a *just System* to *Expedient*, and the *Nation* to a *Cabal*, will engage all the *Hearts*, and employ all the *Heads* and *Hands* of *his People*, govern with *Strength*, *Splendor*, and *Security*, and is sure of rising to that *Summit* of *absolute Power* by *supporting LIBERTY*, which the most *successful TYRANT* may wish for, but never can attain, by *imposing TYRANNY*. But *odious* must be the *Person*, *execrable* the *Character* of that *PRINCE*, and *wretched* the *State* of that *PEOPLE*, where the *Prince* makes use of his *Power* to *subvert*, or *even weaken*, that *CONSTITUTION*, which ought to be the *sole Measure* of his *Government*.

I know nothing that has more employed the Pens of *Writers*, or has been more the *Subject* of *Conversation*, yet at the same *Time* hath been *less understood*, than the *CONSTITUTION* of **ENGLAND**; and this, from confounding *often* in *Writing*, and almost *always* in *Conversation*, the *true Distinction* betwixt *Constitution* and *Government*. *CONSTITUTION* is that *Rule* by which our *Princes* ought to govern at *all Times*; *GOVERNMENT* is that by which they *actually do* govern at *any particular Time*. *GOVERNMENT* is that *particular Tenor* of *Conduct*, which *Magistrates* pursue in the *Administration* of *public Affairs*; and *CONSTITUTION* the *Criterion* to *try* that *Government*, whether it be *agreeable* to the *Rule* by which the *PEOPLE* ought to be *governed*. By the *Word*, *CONSTITUTION*, I understand an *Assemblage* of *fundamental Laws*, *Institutions*, and *Customs*, *derived* from *certain fixed Principles* of *REASON*, *directed* to *certain fixed Objects* of *PUBLIC Good*, that compose the *general System*, according to which the *COMMUNITY* hath *AGREED* to be *governed*. By the *CONSTITUTION* of **ENGLAND**, I understand such an *Assemblage* of *fundamental Laws*, *Institutions*, and *Customs*, as are best suited to the *fixed Principles* of a **FREE monarchial State**, and have been *agreed to* and *ENACTED*, as the *national Rule of Government*,

ment, by the *three concurring Persons* of the KING—the COMMONS—and the LORDS; and these *three* compose the BODY POLITIC; the KING, who has the whole *executive Power* lodged in him, and is properly the *Guardian and Protector of the Laws*; a Member, but the *supreme Member or Head of the BODY POLITIC*;—the HOUSE OF COMMONS, who speak the Sense of the NATION in Parliament—and the LORDS, who are the MEDIATORS between the CROWN and the PEOPLE. This *national Rule of Government* is comprised in MAGNA CHARTA, the BILL OF RIGHTS, and the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, strengthened by several other *Acts* of Parliament made in consequence of, and consonant to, them. Of the *first* of which I shall in this Place take little Notice, as not immediately respecting the Purpose of this *Preface*, and shall confine my Observations more particularly to the BILL OF RIGHTS *agreed to at the REVOLUTION*, and afterwards *confirmed by PARLIAMENT*; that NEW ÆRA, that *new MAGNA CHARTA*, by which our former *Principles of Government, Measures of Obedience, and Obligations* were *renewed—strengthened—and ascertained*; PRINCIPLES, MEASURES OF OBEDIENCE, and OBLIGATIONS, which we are bound, by all the *Ties of Society*, and by all the *Motives of Interest*, to support; for to this *second MAGNA CHARTA*, to these *Principles*, we stand indebted for the ACT OF SETTLEMENT; an *Act* which, strengthened by subsequent Statues, was made to secure to us those Blessings which were *intended*, but *not fulfilled*, by the REVOLUTION, and to anticipate those Dangers which we had fatally *experienced from former*, and, therefore, justly apprehended from *future Reigns*, if we were not guarded against them.

The *avowed Design* of the REVOLUTION was “ *to establish the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of these Nations upon lasting Foundations,—and to procure a Settlement of the RELIGION, and of the LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES of the Subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there might be no Danger of the Nation's relapsing into*

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v,

"*into the like MISERIES at any Time HEREAFTER.*" * The principal End of the REVOLUTION was to secure us against all those Dangers to which PUBLIC LIBERTY *in particular* had been exposed; nor was the least of those Dangers CORRUPTION, that had been employed to create a Dependence of the *two Houses of Parliament* on the CROWN. For, unless the FREEDOM of ELECTIONS and the INTEGRITY and INDEPENDENCY of Parliaments, those *Essentials of BRITISH LIBERTY*, that *Causa sine qua*, (as the Logicians term it) LIBERTY can never be secure, be preserved *pure and unstained*, our *so much boasted* CONSTITUTION would be nothing but a *pompous Trifle*; like ECCHO, *Vox et præterea nihil*; a *meer Rattle*, serving only to amuse the PEOPLE, as you would Children; and that in Matters wherein they ought not to be *deceived*, nor *so much as amused*. PARLIAMENTS are the *Guardians of LIBERTY*. For THIS End they were instituted. THIS is the *principal Article* of that great and noble Trust which the *collective Body* of the PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN repose in their *Representatives*. An *Integrity and Independence*, of which *private Independence*, that can be supported only by *ancient Oeconomy*, is the *strongest Bulwark*, as LUXURY is the *surest Instrument* of *Arbitrary Power*; for so long as that *Oeconomy* subsists, a FREE Nation can be neither *bought* nor *driven*. But what Idea of the most extravagant Misery to a Nation can we form equal to that, where the PEOPLE, made *Bubbles* by being *bribed with their own Money*, *filched* out of their Pockets by *corrupt* and *corrupting M—m—rs* and by *indirect Means*, chuse their *Representatives* for *Money* without any other Regard, and those *Representatives of the People*, as well as the *N—B—L—TY*, are reduced by *Luxury* to beg the *unhallowed Alms* of a *COURT*, and to receive, like *miserable Hirelings*, their *Wages of Iniquity*? When this happens to be the Case of *any Nation*, (*happy* this Nation that it is *not yet our Case!*) the *Corrupted* runs into the Arms of the *Corruptor*, or perhaps — to *raise the Price*, meets him but half way. Can such a

* See the Prince of Orange's Declaration.

M—mb—r be justly deemed the *Representative* of the *PEOPLE*? Might he not more properly be styled the *Representative* or *Eccbo* of the *Min—st—r*, whose *Property*, by such *slavish Prostitution*, he becomes. A *voluntary SLAVE* is so much the most *detestable* of Characters, that, one would imagine, the very Idea of it would *shame* those, who have not lost *all Sense of Shame*, out of the Commission of so *ignominious* a *Crime*, and make those who have not lost *every other Sense*, tremble at the *Consequences* of it.

To prevent the spreading, and, if it be possible, to eradicate every Symptom of a Disease so fatally pernicious to the *Body Politic* as *CORRUPTION*, many salutary Remedies were prescribed by our *Constitution*, strengthened by other subsequent Laws, to which the severest Penalties were annexed on the Breach of them. By the *BILL OF RIGHTS*, that *second MACNA CHARTA* (beyond Dispute an *Act of Parliament* the most solemn, made so by the *Confirmation* of *KING, LORDS and COMMONS*) it was declared, that “ *ELECTIONS OUGHT TO BE FREE.*” By the 5th and 6th of *W. and M.* c. 20. §. 48, it was enacted, that “ no Person employed in the “ collecting or managing the Duties of *EXCISE* (extended by the “ 12th and 13th of *W. III.* c. 10. §. 89. to the *CUSTOMS*) shall, “ by *Word, Message, or Writing*, or in *any other Manner*, *endeavour* “ to *persuade* any *Elector* to give, or *dissuade* any *Elector* from giving, “ his *Vote at Elections*, under the *Penalty of one hundred Pounds.*”— By a Clause in the *ACT OF SETTLEMENT* it was provided, that “ no Person *who had any Office or Place of Profit under the King, or received any Pension from the Crown*, should be capable of fitting as “ a *Member of the House of Commons.*” But this last-recited Clause (in *obedience* to the *Legislature* we shall suppose) for *GOOD REASONS* was repealed by the 6th *Q. Anne*, c. 7. §. 4. And by the same *Act* “ all Persons who *after* their *Election* into *Parliament* “ shall accept of *any Office of Profit whatsoever under the Crown* “ (except in the *Army or Navy*) are declared incapable of fitting in “ the *House* unless *RE-ELECTED.*” And by the 2d of his late *Majesty*,

Majesty, c. 24. §. 1. it was enacted, that “ if any Person claiming a Right to vote at any Election shall receive any Money or other Reward, or shall agree for any Money, Gift, Office, Employment or Reward, to give his Vote, or to forbear to give his Vote, such Offender shall forfeit five hundred Pounds.” And to carry the Intention of this Act the more effectually into Execution, every Elector, before he is admitted to poll, is required to take the following Oath: “ I, A. B. do swear (or being one of the People called Quakers) I, A. B. do solemnly affirm I have not received or had—by myself—or any other Person whatsoever—in Trust for me—or for my Use or Benefit—DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY—any Sum or Sums of Money—Office—Place or Employment—Gift or Reward—or any PROMISE or Security for any Money—Office—Employment—or Gift—in order to give my Vote at this Election.” Laws, which, if we consider them *theoretically*, seem to give the greatest Strength and Security to our LIBERTIES, that most important and essential Article: for, as the Members of the HOUSE OF COMMONS are the Trustees and Guardians of all we have, and of all our Posterity, the Freedom and Independency of that Assembly is unquestionably the Support of them all, the Foundation upon which the Fabric of our whole CONSTITUTION depends. But of what Efficacy, or to what End, is the best System of Laws in the Universe composed, if they are as *ill executed* as they are *wisely framed*? GOOD GODS! is it possible for a Man almost daily to meet CORRUPTION publicly stalking thro’ every Street and Alley of a Borough—to see the FREEHOLDER and the ELECTOR (greater in their civil Capacity than the greatest Subject of an *arbitrary* Prince) wallowing in Gluttony and Drunkenness, the Price of their LIBERTIES; led in a golden Halter, like the Ox to the Slaughter, and, ESAU like, selling their Birth-right for Pottage—to hear of ten, sometimes twenty thousand Pounds spent at an Election in corrupting the Electors—to know, to have been *personally offered*, nay, publicly and frequently, four thousand Pounds to get one, and six thousand Pounds two Members returned; is it possible, I say, to know all this, and at

the same Time to believe that there are *any* Laws in being, made for the *Restraint* of **BRIBERY** and **Corruption**, much less Laws inflicting severe Penalties and other exemplary Punishments upon those who are guilty of it? Or, if he does believe that there *are* such Laws, what can he think other than that those Laws, like the **SALUS POPULI**, that **SUPREMA LEX**, are *obsolete*, or came into the World *still-born*—without *Life*, as without *Energy*? *If* the Laws in being have not sufficient Potency to bridle and restrain **BRIBERY** and **CORRUPTION**, or if there are any artful *Chicaneries* or *Evasions*, by Means of which the End and Intention of them are defeated, why are not *new Barriers* of Law *raised* against so encroaching and dangerous a Vice? Where is the **POWER** and **MAJESTY** of the **PEOPLE**, the **ORIGINAL COMPACT**, the **AUTHORITY** and **INDEPENDENCE** of **PARLIAMENT**? Where are your *boasted LIBERTIES*, if such an *Inundation* of **CORRUPTION** be suffered to break in upon and overwhelm your *Laws* and **CONSTITUTION**? The last and best Security for the *Liberties* of a **PEOPLE** is a **PARLIAMENT** *free* and *independent*, that *Fountain*, which, while it remains pure and untainted, will render it impossible to *corrupt* the *Streams*, from whence the *Health* and *Vigour* of the **CONSTITUTION** flow. To *pollute* the *Spring*, therefore, by employing the *Friends* to the **GOVERNMENT** against the **CONSTITUTION**, to overturn the *Liberties* of a **COUNTRY** by the *Corruption* of the *Electors* and *Elected*, is the *artful* and most *dangerous EXPEDIENT* of **WICKED MINISTERS**. To **DIVIDE** and to **CORRUPT** have been ever the *Part* which they have *acted* on the *Stage* of **GOVERNMENT** in order to accomplish the **Destruction** of their **COUNTRY**. Notions of **LIBERTY** are so interwoven in the very Being of **FREE Subjects**, and the least Suspicion of its being in **Danger**, fires the Soul to such a Degree of generous Indignation, that he must be a *petty POLITICIAN* who attacks a **PEOPLE'S LIBERTIES** *directly*; the *Means* are *dangerous*, and the *Success* *uncertain*. But the *wily STATESMAN* *disguises* the *fatal Hook* with the *Bait* of seeming present *Advantage* in *corrupting* the *Elector* and the *Representative*; and thus the *easy thoughtless*

Victims

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Victims are made the Instruments of their own *Slavery*; nor do they know that the Mine is laid, till the goodly *Pile* comes *tumbling* on their Heads.

My Readers will, I hope, pardon me, if a just Regard to the CONSTITUTION obliges me to repeat, here, a Distinction which in the former Part of this Preface I made betwixt CONSTITUTION and GOVERNMENT. “CONSTITUTION is the Rule by which our “Princes OUGHT to govern at ALL Times: GOVERNMENT is that “by which they ACTUALLY DO govern at ANY PARTICULAR Time. “GOVERNMENT is the particular TENOR OF CONDUCT, which “Magistrates PERSUE in the Administration of public Affairs: CON-“STITUTION is the CRITERION to TRY that Tenor of Conduct, “whether it be agreeable to that Rule by which the People OUGHT to “be governed.” A Distinction which has been no less villainously than fallaciously confounded by a mercenary Band of prostitute Scribblers; those Drummers and Trumpeters, who, like the Musicians employed at a funeral Pile in the EAST-INDIES *, are hired to drown the Groans of their expiring Country. The Object of these Miscreants is to destroy the CONSTITUTION under the Pretence of preserving the GOVERNMENT, by corrupting the Parliaments. Not that this Doctrine, abominable as it is in its Nature, and pernicious in its Effects, is confined in the Use of it to those lower Hirelings. I wish that Truth did not give Reason to say, that I have heard it frequently pleaded and recommended, as a necessary Expedient of Government, by MEN, whose Birth, Education and Fortune aggrate their Crime and their Folly; by MEN, whom Honour at least should restrain from favouring so dishonourable a Cause. They plead for Corruption as necessary to strengthen the Hands of those who

* It is a Custom in the East-Indies, that, when the Husband dies, his favourite Wife, as a Mark of her extreme Affection for the Deceased, throws herself upon the funeral Pile, and is burnt alive with the dead Body of her Husband, and during the whole Ceremony divers Instruments of Music are placed to prevent the Shrieks and Cries of the dying Woman from being heard.

govern, and that it serves to *oil* the *Wheels* of Government. Certainly, so absurd a Doctrine cannot sink deep into the Minds of any but those who desire to be deceived. It is so *futilis et vana*, (as the *Roman* Orator would have called it) that, like *Oil* poured upon *Water*, it can *float* only upon the *Surface* of the Mind *without incorporating*; for every Man must reject in *Theory* such *Cobweb*-Arguments as break in the very *handling* of them, if every Man would *think*; and every Man must reject them in *Practice*, if every Man would *act with Freedom*. A Doctrine so *ridiculous*, as well as *iniquitous*, that a *FREEMAN* *will not*, an *honest* Man *cannot*, avow it; a *Prostitution* so abandoned, as well as *villainous*, that the lowest *Miscreant* of ministerial Tools ought not to *mention* without *blushing*. Is our *CONSTITUTION* *funk so low*, or our *GOVERNMENT* so *bad*, that it cannot be upheld but by such *HONOURABLE Props* as *BRIBERY* and *CORRUPTION*? If it be not, a *good* Government cannot want Power under our present Constitution; a *bad* one may, and it is fit it should. *POPULARITY* is the *Expedient* of *one*, and will effectually support it: nothing but *Corruption* can support the other. If this Doctrine were to prevail; if to support *Government* there is a *Necessity* of *Places and Pensions*, or any *pecuniary Influence* among the Members of the *HOUSE of COMMONS*, if such an *Influence* was to be *universal* and *unlimited* thro' the whole *House*, the *MONARCHY* would be *absolute*; and our *CONSTITUTION* would be a *Constitution* having *Representatives* of the *PEOPLE* that are *engaged* *NOT to represent them, nor to vote and act, as they would vote and act*, if uninfluenced by *private Interest* and *corrupt Motives*. The *Form* only of *Government* would be preserved: the *CONSTITUTION*, which is the *Essence* of *Government*, would be *destroyed*: it would be the *worst of Tyranny* under the *Appearance of Law*. The *Form* of the *FREE* *Government* of *ROME* was preserved under the *arbitrary* *Government* of the *Emperors*: there was a *Senate*, *Consul*, and *Tribunes*, which may be compared to our *K—g*, *L—ds* and *C—mm—ns*; and yet the *Government* under the *Emperors* was always *despotsical*, often *tyrannical*. Instances, like this, point out

to

to us the glorious *Land-marks* for our Safety, and bid us be *wise in Time*, before CORRUPTION has made so great a Havock among us. We have gone far, very far, into *Corruption*. MACHIAVEL tells us, “ there is a Point of *Corruption*, to which no Nation can arrive “ and recover their *LIBERTIES*, if they *are lost*, or can *preserve* them “ if they *are not lost*.” The same great Author, in his political Discourses, lays down this Position; that “ no Government can “ long enjoy *LIBERTY*, unless it be brought back to its *original first Principles*.” It is the Nature of all Governments to degenerate: it naturally deviates from its first Institution, which is the ADVANTAGE of SOCIETY with *Civil Liberty*; till at last it attains such a Degree of *Corruption*, that, in Contradiction to the original Institution by which the *Prince* was considered only as the *Servant of the PUBLIC*, the PUBLIC are obliged to be the *Slaves of the PRINCE*. To what Degree of *Corruption* our Government may have arrived, or how it may call to be brought back to its first Principles, I shall leave to others to determine.

If my *Fellow-Countrymen*, the ELECTORS of GREAT-BRITAIN, would but submit to make a few common Reflections, such as naturally arise in every unprejudiced dispassionate Mind, would they not look upon, and think worthy only to be treated, as a *Madman*, any Person that should desire them who knew neither his *Fortune*, his *Character*, nor *even his Person*, to make him their *Trustee* in the Management and Disposal of their Family and Fortune? Every Family is a little Government; a *Representative* in Parliament is a *Trustee* for the *Represented*: And the same Principles that actuate a Man in the Management of the Concerns of a *private Trust*, will govern him in that which regards the *Public*, with this Difference, that, as the *Abuse of Trust* in the *one* would be more fatal in its Consequences than in the *other*, in Proportion as the Power to *abuse* it is more extensive, they should be *much more* solicitous about the Choice of the *TRUSTEES* and *GUARDIANS* of their *CONSTITUTION* and *LIBERTIES*, upon the Enjoyment of which *all other Blessings in Life*

depend, than of those of a more private and less consequential Concern. They would consider that, to return the *boni et legales Homines DE VICINETO* to *Parliament*, as well as upon *Juries*, would alike redound to their *Honour* and their *Interest*: To their *Honour*, as they would thereby shew, that they preferred *real* and *substantial* to *transitory* and *pecuniary* Motives; and that they disdained to *sell* their *Country*, and make themselves the Instruments of their own *Ruin*: To their *Interest*, as their *Countrymen*, their *Acquaintance*, perhaps, their *Relations*, governed by the *same provincial Laws*, in the *same Interests*, and of the *same Connexions*, would be more *capable*, as well as *inclined*, to promote their *commerical* and other *Welfare*, than *STRANGERS*, whose *Faces* they never saw *before* the *Election*, and may probably never see again till the *Determination of Seven Years*. They would reflect, that a *triennial* or *septennial* *Boon*, as *ill-spent* as it is *ill-gotten*, makes no *Amends* for the *Loss of Liberty, Credit and Reputation*, which are the *Support of Commerce*, and the *greatest Comfort* to an *honest Mind*.—That Men, no less *prostitute* than themselves, who had *bought* them, as they would *Cattle* in a *Market*, at the *Price of three, six, and sometimes ten THOUSAND Pounds*, would think that they had an *equal Right* to *sell* them again, and had *no other End* in *purchasing* them:—That their *Corruption* is the *Cause of their Poverty*, more than their *Poverty* is the *Cause of their Corruption*:—And that *History* gives no *Example* of any *Nation* that ever *regained* their *Liberties*, when they had *tamely consented* to the *Loss* of them, or *infamously sold* them for the *present Supply* of their *Luxury and Vice*: But their unhappy *Posterity* for ever *groaned* under the *Inheritance of Slavery*, delivered down to them by their *Forefathers*.

How far an *Election* can be *justly deemed FREE* and *agreeable to the Spirit of the Constitution*, where the *Electors* are influenced by the *Threats, Gifts, Promises*, or other *Interposition* of *P—rs*, that *separate* and *third Part* of the *Body-Politic*, intended by the *CONSTITUTION* as *Mediators* between the *CROWN* and the *PEOPLE in Parliament*,

Parliament, I shall chuse rather to refer my Countrymen, for a Satisfaction therein, to the Journals of the *House of Commons*, than pretend to determine. Much less will I presume to compare (as I have heard often compared) this Interposition of P—rs in the *Elections of Representatives of the PEOPLE*, and their *Views* therein, to the Interposition of the *ambitious GREAT* in *Old ROME* at the Election of *TRIBUNES*, whose *Views* were palpably directed to the securing of the *Votes and Interest* of the *TRIBUNES*, when *elected*, in the Execution of their *P--RR--C--D-L Schemes*, the Consequence of which *ROME* severely felt: For (as *CICERO* tells us *) “ a long Experience had shewn, that the *TRIBUNES* “ had always been the *TOOLS* of all the *Ambitious*, who had any “ Designs of *advancing themselves above the Laws*; for, by *corrupt-* “ *ing* one or more of the *TRIBUNES*, which they were sure there- “ by to effect, (at the worst) by paying them to their full Price, “ they could either obtain from the *PEOPLE* whatever they want- “ ed, or obstruct, at least, whatever should be attempted against “ them.” The Consequence of which, were not *GREAT-BRIT-* *TAIN* honoured with P—rs as noble in *Principle* as they are in *Blood*, every *honest* Man would *dread*, every *Lover of his Country* would *tremble to think of*, and every *wise* Man would, *totis Viribus, labour to prevent*: For (were this ever to be the Fate of this Nation—(avert it, *HEAVEN* !) we might soon be an *ARISTOCRATI-* *CAL*, with the *Name only* of a *free MONARCHIAL*, State. But this I will presume to assert, that by Stat. Westm. 1, 3, Ed. I. c. 5. (an *Act* made long before *BRIBERY* and *CORRUPTION* had found out the *Art* of tainting the *FREEDOM* of *ELECTIONS*, and the *INDE-* *PENDENCY* of *PARLIAMENT*) it is enacted, that, *No Great Man, by Force of Threats, shall disturb any free ELECTION to be made, upon great Forfeiture, every Elector* would, within himself, seriously reflect, that he is guilty of the greatest Crime Human Nature is capable of, if he be *any ways accessory* to the *inslaving* his Country. Though he has but *one Vote*, many Units make a Number. If

* *De Leg.* iii. 9.

every Elector should join the Stream of *Corruption*, by means of reasoning with himself, that “ *he has but one Vote*, and of what “ *Weight will one Vote be to carry an Election*, where there are, “ *perhaps, Hundreds*,” what must become of the Whole ? A *Law* of great Consequence, and the Election of a *Member* who voteth for *that Law*, may be both carried by *one Vote*. Great and important Services for the Liberties of a Country have been done by *ordinary Men*. I have read that the Institution of the *Tribunes*, or the whole Power of the *Commons*, in Rome, was owing to a Word spoke in Season by a *common Man*.

To You, my FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN *in general*, I now address myself: If you *are FREE*, *dare to THINK* and *ACT like FREEMEN* ! like Men who *deserve to be FREE*. Be not *distinguished* out of your **CONSTITUTION**, nor suffer your **LIBERTIES** to be *explained away* by pretended *Friends of the GOVERNMENT*, and real *Enemies of the CONSTITUTION* ! If any Symptoms appear, which shew that the *Poison of CORRUPTION* hath made any Progress in tainting the **Morals of the People**, and restraining the **FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS**, let this Progress be checked *in Time* by a *Spirit becoming ENGLISHMEN* ; and, *before the Disease becomes incurable*, let the **POWER of poisoning** be taken from these *Empirics*, these *political Quack-Doctors*, the **LICENCIATES of DESPOTISM**, who dispense their *Quackeries* in all the great Coffee-houses at the *West End of the Town*, *disguising* their *Poisons* with a pretended *Zeal for Liberty*, a *specious Concern* for the *Corruption of the Times*, and the *utmost seeming Detestation* of the **Government of all the M—N—RS of the present Age indiscriminately** ; and, the more easily to induce the **PEOPLE** to consent to swallow the fatal Pill of **ABSOLUTE POWER**, they *gild* their *Poison* with this stale and sophistical Argument, that “ *a Prince of such Magnanimity and Justice as our present Monarch, cannot be tempted by any Motives to abuse the Confidence, however great, that we may place in him* ; and, consequently, that our *Liberties* would be much safer under his *absolute Direction*, than “ *under*

“ under the Government of *M—n—rs* whom *they* never forget to
 “ load with the Title of IGNORANT, and many other the most *con-*
 “ *tumelious* Epithets:”

Hi *nigri* sunt.—Ergo, hos Tu, ROMANE, Caveto! HOR.

Not that this Doctrine is confined to the Conversation of *Coffee-houses*, the Press too groans under the Weight of the Labours of such PAR-
 RICIDAL Scribblers. You have (I am fully persuaded) a much higher Idea than such *mercenary Tools* can have, of the many eminent and transcendent Virtues of our *Royal Master*, that *BEST OF KINGS*, and of the just Sense he entertains of the Obligations which *he and his Family* have to the *British Nation*, by whom they were made *Kings*; and, consequently, that he aims not at greater Power than is consistent with the *CONSTITUTION* they were *intrusted to preserve*, and *obliged to secure*. But, though his present Majesty emulates—did I say *emulates*?—I would have said *surpasses*, in heroic Virtues, his *immortal Predecessor* our *GREAT DELIVERER, King WILLIAM*, you are not sure, that a *TITUS* will succeed every *VESPASIAN*; and though it *may not*, CANNOT happen that so dismal an Effect as *Tyranny* should, in *this Reign*, attend such a *complaisant Surrender* of your *LIBERTIES*, yet (as I have before observed) History does not afford one Instance where a Nation has *once* given up their *Liberties*, and *ever* recovered them again; it is, therefore, a Duty which you owe to your *COUNTRY*, to you *CHILDREN*, and your *POSTERITY*, to *guard* against a *NERO* in a *future Reign*. The only Means of effecting this is by *preserving* the *FREEDOM* of *ELECTIONS*, and *INDEPENDENCY* of *PARLIAMENTS*. Let us lay aside our Prejudices, check our Passions, and consider the *Nation* in a *due Extent* and in a *clear Light*. It is a Point at this Crisis so essential, that our *being* or *not being* a Nation almost entirely depends upon it: And if we do not take the Resolution to do it *now*, it may probably be out of our *Power* to do it *hereafter*. I have shewn what our *excellent CONSTITUTION* is; let us prize it as we ought—

by preserving it *untainted* and *inviolate*! Thus shall we *truly* serve our PRINCE; thus shall we *do our Duty* to our COUNTRY, and *preserve ourselves* in the Condition for which all Men were originally designed—that of a FREE PEOPLE. This will be the Means of establishing the Throne—not on the tottering Foundation of C—RT CRAFT, or B—TE—N and GR—LL—N *unconst—t—t—nal Expedients*, but on the POPULARITY of the PRINCE, and the UNIVERSAL AFFECTION of his SUBJECTS: Whereas, to *foment*, instead of *healing*, national Divisions; to *divide*, instead of *uniting* the Heads, Hearts, and Hands of a FREE PEOPLE; to *debauch* and *corrupt*, instead of *reclaiming* and *improving*, their *Morals*, are EXPEDIENTS by which any Prince who pursues them may *risque*, if not in the End *lose*, that Power he *has*, for a Power he *does not want*.

These are the *Principles* of an OLD WHIG; this the *Doctrine* of a *True Englishman*, who is void of all Ambition, but the Ambition of an *honest Fame*; and whose *only End* is to *secure*, to *fortify*, to *perpetuate* our excellent System of GOVERNMENT, the most perfect System of Government in the Universe—Reflections, such as arise from the *Nature* of our CONSTITUTION, the *Principles* of LIBERTY, and the *Precedents* of FREE States.

The AUTHOR is not unaware, that there are Persons who may possibly *dignify* him with the *Reproach* of *Faction*, and the *Title* of *Incendiary*: But those are *Honours*, by which every *true Friend* of his Country, who has had the same *honest Intentions* as himself, has been before so often *distinguished*, that these *generous Eulogists* will excuse him, if he should consider their *Presents* only as the *Common-place Compliments* of *Hireling Scribblers*, who *write* that they may *eat*, and themselves as Objects worthy only of a *contemptuous Silence*. If the Author has pressed his Arguments with a more than common Degree of Warmth, he hopes that it will be thought at least pardonable, as it was a Warmth that arose in the *Manliest*, the *Noblest*, and *Best* Cause in the World—the Cause of his COUNTRY;

TRY;

TRY; and the rather, as he flatters himself, that it came not unattended with one Merit,—that, while he *speaks* to the *Passions*, he appeals to the *Judgment*, of the PUBLIC. The *Laws* of his *Country* are his *Protection*, as, were he guilty, it would be his Punishment: And, whilst a Spark of British Spirit remains in a British Parliament, he cannot be alarmed with any Apprehension of *arbitrary Constructions*, *false Surmise*, or *invidious Comments*, that mean *Invention* of little Minds, that *base Engine* of wicked MINISTERS, by a Restraint of the PRESS to *undermine the Bulwark* of ENGLISH LIBERTY. And, whoever shall attempt to DECYPHER the Author's Desire of *doing Good* into a petulant Humour for *DOING MISCHIEF*, or into the Effect of *Passion* or *Disappointment*, must expect to be treated by him as deserving Contempt only, not Notice.

Having said so much in regard to the *Preface*, it may be expected that the Author should say something with respect to the *Characters* in the *Poem*; as likewise to account how a Person, who has never appeared upon the Stage of the Public in the Character of a *Poet*, should dare to enter that Province, without having first purchased a *Passport* from those Captain-Generals of PARNASSUS, the MONTHLY and CRITICAL REVIEWERS, as they style themselves. As the Character of SEJANUS was taken from PATERCULUS and TACITUS, that of CICERO was extracted chiefly from SUETONIUS, LUCAN*, and SERVIUS †, with this Difference, that the Scene of Action only has been varied, in order to modernize the Character. What induced the Author more par-

* Momentumque fuit mutatus CURIO rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro. LUCAN, iv. 319.

† SERVIUS applies that Passage in Virgil, “*Vendidit hic auro patriam*,” to the Case of CURIO's selling Rome to CÆSAR.

ticularly to make CURIO a Character in his Satirical Poem, was the Indignation which every Lover of his Country must entertain against him, on account of that Part of the Character, whereof *Suetonius** relates, that “ *Cæsar had privately gained the Tribune CURIO, by immense Bribes, to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass during his Magistracy.*” — All the three Characters under fictitious Names, being intended by the Author, rather as Land-Marks to warn other Persons, in the present and future Generation, from splitting upon the same Rocks, than as the Instrument of *personal Invective* or *Resentment*. Lest any one should be so *selfish* as to *engross* an Application of any particular Character to *himself*, the Author, conscious of no *personal Malevolence* to any great Person in particular, declares that he knows not even the Person of any one Member of the present or late Administration. The *personal Resentment* which possibly he may be thought to bear to one great *Man* for *personal Injuries*, has no Share in his *Satire*. On the contrary, he makes great Allowances for the Errors into which the Rage of *Party* lead many Men; and cannot suffer himself to believe but that the Injuries done, or intended to be done, to the Author, were the Result rather of the *Heat of Party*, than of any Disposition personally to prejudice a *Man* whom he never saw, and who had never seen him, so as *personally to know each other*. The *Public* only is an Object of a *PATRIOT*’s Concern. A *Poet* is a Character, of *which*, among *all* Characters, the Author has been ever the least ambitious; and the true and only Motive to his writing a *Satire* was, that as the Age was become so *corrupt* as at least to appear insensible to whatever could be urged in *Prose*, he had somewhere read

Satire will sting whom Sermons cannot hit.

* *Sueton. Jul. Cæs. 29.*

As to the CRITICS, those the Author

Tradit protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis.

Hor.

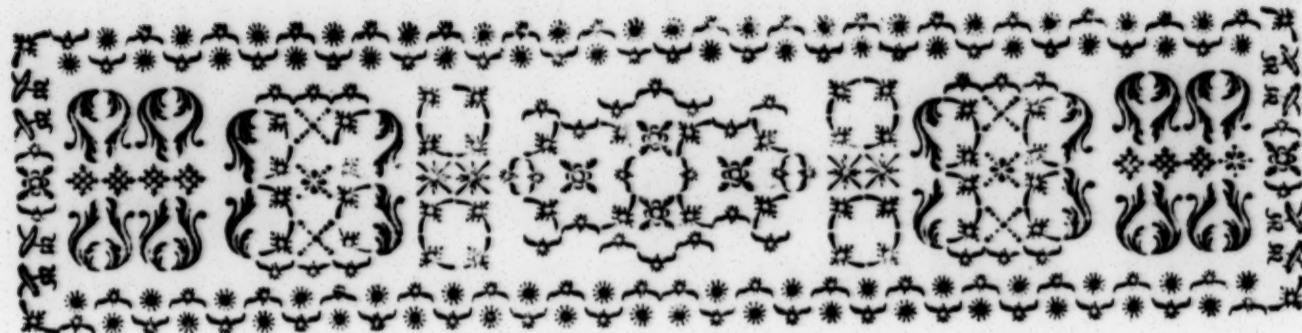
And shall conclude this Preface with an Address to them in the
Words of YOUNG,

*Hot, envious, noisy, proud, ye scribbling Fry,
Burn, hiss and bounce, waste Paper, stink, and — die !*

T H E

T H E A R G U M E N T.

The great Discouragement to write, arising from the *Corruption of Taste*—
Eulogium on the D. of Q—y—The Danger of writing on Political Subjects—instanced in the Case of the Author—Character of a *certain* Great King in a *free* State—Definition of *true* Greatness—instanced in the Character of CLODIO—instanced in the *reverse* Character of the *Author of CATO's Letters*—The Effects of *good* and *bad* Example—Character of the late SP-KER of the H. of C-MM-NS—The *Virtue* of *ancient ROME*, and Effects of it—till destroyed by *Luxury*—The Genealogy of *Corruption*, and the fatal Consequences of it to a *free* Nation—Reflections on GREAT-BR—N's *judicious* Choice of *able* and *upright* Ministers both *at home* and *abroad*—the *Principles* and *Qualifications* necessary to *such* Ministers—The Advantages resulting to a Nation from such Choice—True PATRIOTISM described—The Effects of a King's countenancing *Merit only*—Portrait of an *honest* Minister *resigning* Power—instanced in a Character of the M. of R--CK---M—The Difficulty of finding Ministers whose Views are *solely* directed to the *real* Service of their Country—exemplified in the Character of the G--- S---—Inconsistency of Character charged on the Author—answered—The *political Principles* of the Author—The unhappy Consequences to every Member of a Community, as well as to a Nation, in the Case of a *Minister not limiting* his *Ambition* to his *Abilities*, instanced in an impartial Delineation of the Character of SEJANUS—The Means to make a *free* People compleatly happy—*Eulogium on L—WYM-TH*—Character of L—C-MD-N as Cb--nc--r—Additional Persons named, the most capable of forming a *great* and *lasting* Ministry—The Happiness of GREAT-BRITAIN with regard to *Liberty*, compared to that of FRANCE—Conclusion, with an *Invocation to LIBERTY*.



P A T R I O T I S M :

A

P O L I T I C A L S A T I R E.

EARNING's great Ornament, and *Virtue's*
Friend,

L O S-YD'-M ! wilt thou to my Verse attend ;
One Moment from thy fav'rite PLATO steal,
And, tho' you rob the Public, hear my Tale ?

Tell me, may my ambitious MUSE pretend
Thou art my old Acquaintance, and my Friend ?

B

Say'

Say, that you prun'd her too luxuriat Vine,
 Cut the superfluous Branches from each Line,
 And taught her docile Genius where to shine ? }
 That, steer'd by Thee, my Bark from Rocks safe sail'd,
 On which blind Pilots, driv'n by Folly, fail'd.

Oft am I ask'd, if I have ceas'd to write,
 Or what Piece WINTER ushers into Light ;
 What *can* I write in these *flagitious* Times,
 When VICE and FLATT'RY stamp the Worth of Rhymes ?
 Too weak my Genius ; — head-strong VICE demands
 The Scourge of *Satire* from a CHURCHILL's Hands :
 My Muse, untaught to feign, resigns to *Slaves*,
 FLATT'RY, that Food of *Fools*, that Breath of *Knaves*.

“ Say, has not VIRTUE Charms that can inspire,
 “ Glow in thy Bosom, and thy Genius fire ? ” —
 VIRTUE ! alas, forsaken VIRTUE's fled
 From Lands, where nought but *Vice* and *Folly* tread.
 I said : when lo ! — appear'd the Heav'nly Maid,
 In all her Beauties, all her Charms array'd :

“ Mistaken

“ Mistaken Bard ! (she cry’d) I am not fled :
“ When VICE and FOLLY rear’d their *Hydra* Head,
“ Hov’ring I hung, unwilling to depart,
“ And fix’d my Seat at last in QU——Y’s Heart.
“ In *private* Life, belov’d by all Mankind ;
“ In *public*, both his *King*’s and *Country*’s Friend :
“ There blest I reign, from ev’ry Ill secure,
“ FACTION’s *mad* Rage, or *fly* CORRUPTION’s Pow’r.
“ Bare to thy Sight his Breast, you’ll not find there,
“ That *mean* AMBITION skulks behind a *Star* :
“ No—*inly* GREAT, and *resolutely* free,
“ He views the Storms of the *politic*’ Sea,
“ And, safe on Shore, in AM—B—RY’s calm Retreat,
“ Hears the loud Surge, and mourns his *Country*’s Fate ;
“ Where *wise* *Reflection* spreads her peaceful Wings,
“ And *Loyalty*, with *Pity*, looks on—KINGS.”

Too high such Subject, my *unequal* Lays
Would seem a *Satire*, where I meant to *praise* :
Yet, may good Angels guard him with their Ray,
And gild with Bliss the Evening of his Day !

“ Does not thy *bleeding Country* claim thy Pen ? ”

POPE whispers me : “ Laws are explain’d by *Men*.”

The G— S—RD * too, by Rancour led,
 Vows the most signal Vengeance on my Head ;
 To sap the Bulwark of our Rights intent,
Tortures my Words to Meanings never meant ;
 From *Freedom’s* Tenets *Despotism* he draws,
 And swears, I rais’d *Prerogative* o’er *Laws*.—
 Pointless such Charges, impotent such Rage,
 In vain he courts ev’n S-n-tes to engage ;
 In vain he dooms my Writings to the *Fire*,
 And labours to *exalt* their Author *high’r*.
 Oh ! let such *Insects* shoot their Stings and die,
 Too low for Anger, for Contempt too high !

* A new-fledg’d Patriot, not long since an inflexible Advocate for Arb-tr-y Power ; who is said to have laboured hard in a great Aff—y to procure an Ord-r, that an Effay, written by the Author, should be burnt by the Common Hangman, and the Author p-ll-r-ed ; wherein, upon Principles of public Liberty, as well as arising from public Necessity, grounded on the *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, he endeavoured to justify, as consistent with the true End of Government and the Spirit of the Constitution, the issuing of a Royal Proclamation for the Prohibition of the Exportation of Corn at a Time when the Parl-m--nt were not fitting, nor could not be called to sit soon enough to prevent the Calamities of a Dearth and Famine, with which the Nation was at that Time threatened.

But

But WHO, that makes his *Country's Good* his Care,
Unfeelingly could fit, or *calmly* hear?
What must he think of our *once-envied State*,
If, in a *P-rl—m—ry Debate*,
The “**SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX**,”
Is deem'd an *obsolete, Old-Woman's Text*?
Could **GEORGE**, who nobly glories in the Name
Of **BRITON**, ever wish for **BRITAIN's Shame**?
Could **HE** delight in *Slaves*, whose *Life* display'd
A *Mind* in all *free Virtue's Charms array'd*?
No—Blest with Pow'r which he usurp'd from none,
He rules, **GREAT—HAPPY** in himself alone;
Rules in his **PEOPLE's Hearts**, their *Bliss*, his *Pride*.—
The **BILL OF RIGHTS** and the **GREAT CHART** his *Guide*.—
So breathes **FAVONIUS** on the fruitful Spring,
And ev'ry Flow'r awakes with genial Wing,
While **BOREAS**' furious Blast, like **TYRANTS** Frowns,
In direful Waste both Flow'rs and Weeds confounds.

What is **NOBILITY**?—'Tis not *Fstate*,
Or *Birth*, or *Title*, that can make you great,

C

For,

For, if from *Ancestors* those Honours flow,
They are but Honours you to *others* owe ;
Or, if those Favours you from *Courts* receive,
To sink the *free-born BRITON* in the *Slave*,
Honours, *thus purchas'd*, but reflect *Disgrace*,
And *cloud* the *beaming Glories* of thy *Race*.—
Though, like a *Comet*, you all-gay appear,
And *Slaves* by Dozens load the *gilded Car*—
'Tho' *FORTUNE* flatter thee with all her *Store*,
The *Plume* of *Title*, and the *Pomp* of *Pow'r*,
On *Virtue*, *Virtue only*, can you rise ;
No *real GREATNESS* but in *Virtue* lies.

When *COMMERCE* ficken'd under *W-LP-LE'S Reign*,
And thy lov'd *BR-T-IN* bled in ev'ry Vein,
What *Virtue* kindled within *CURIO'S Breast*,
Where all the *Roman Patriot* was confess'd !
What pow'rful Accents trickled from his Tongue,
Smooth as the *THAMES*, and as the *TIBER* strong !
While *Truth* and *Spirit* with united Force,
Stemm'd the strong Torrent of *CORRUPTION'S Course* ;

That

That *Itch*, which, like the *Scotch Disease*, will run,
Touch'd it infects ; infected you're undone.
Such was the *Senator* ; Great PATRIOT HE,
Who knew no Foes but Foes to *Liberty* !
When UNIVERSAL EMPIRE's fiery Ball
Threat'ned on trembling EUROPE's Head to fall,
When low'ring Storms, hung ready to o'erwhelm
The *Ship* ; then by ONE Voice call'd to the Helm,
His *Counsels* propp'd BRITANNIA's *sinking* State ;
His *Firmness* ballanc'd tott'ring EUROPE's Fate :
Triumphs on Triumphs fwell'd the Trump of Fame,
While FR— and SP— shook ev'n at BR-T—N's Name ;
The bright unbounded Glory of her Throne
Beam'd from the *setting* to the *rising* Sun *.
Enraptur'd Senates own'd his mighty Nod ;
In *Speech* DEMOSTHENES ; in *Pow'r* a GOD.—
“ *How are the Mighty fall'n ?* ”—————
Soon as CORRUPTION whisper'd in his Ear,
“ *Rise, rise, my fav'rite Son ! thy Price I bear ;* ”

* Crevère Vires, famaque et imperi
Porrecta Majestas, ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili. — HOR.

His *public-spirited* Professions seem
The *mimic* Vision of a *fleeting Dream*.
Off flew the Mask, in which his Vice was drest,
And all the *shameless Tr—mm—r* stood confest.
This *Roman* Champion in his Country's Cause,
Guard of our Rights, and Bulwark of our Laws,
Enflam'd with Lust of *TITLE*, or of *Pow'r*,
And lull'd by *Flatt'ry*'s Opiate, — *Free no more* ;
Lur'd by false Taste, by mad Ambition sway'd,
To B—— that Country, which he fav'd, betray'd ;
Now *poorly rich*, her hapless Fate survives,
And rather *barely breathes* than *truly lives* ;
No more the *Idol* of the *PEOPLE*'s Praise,
He levell'd with the Ground the Pile he rais'd;
Ignobly NOBLE, impotently great,
B—te—n Puppet of a tott'ring State,
He braves the *TH-NE*'s fly Grin, the *PEOPLE*'s Frown,
And b—ll—s from a Bench, with Sc-nd-l won.
Such, such his Taste !—————

—————So, when thy Sons, O *ROME*,
Had by their Valour all the World o'ercome,

Their

Their Virtue lost, their Liberties then sold,
 The World's great Conqu'rors sunk — *the Slaves of Gold.*

Far different Passions TRENCHARD's * Actions fir'd,
 Far noble Principles *his* Soul inspir'd,
 Whose Mind, *his own*, with *honest Scorn* could hate
 A *Fool* with *Title*, or a *Knave* in *State*.
 No mean Ambition *shaded* his *Desert* ;
 Unstain'd *his* Hand, and uncorrupt *his* Heart ;
 No *Party-Prejudice* usurp'd *his* Breast ;
 No *biass'd* Vote a *rotten* Heart confess'd.
He from his *Country's* Int'rest never swerv'd,
 But his old rigid *Honesty* preserv'd.
He held — (ah, how unlike some *modern Worms* !)
 “ An ENGLISHMAN * should *blush* to serve *on Terms*.”
 From *Ancestors*, not *Courts*, sprang his Estate ;
 Rich without *Rapine*, without *Title* great ;

* The Author of *Cato's Letters, an Argument on a Standing Army, &c. &c.* who being honoured with an Offer to be made *Secretary of State* on the *Decesse* of Mr. ADDISON, when it was hinted to him that it would be expected that he should go Hand in Hand with the other Parts of the Ministry, his Answer was, that he should ever think it the greatest Happiness, as well as Honour, of his Life, to serve his *Majesty* in any Department to which his Abilities were equal, but to serve him upon *Terms*, was inconsistent with *his Character*, and the *NAME* of an ENGLISHMAN.

Politic with Dignity, in Taste refin'd,
In ev'ry Thought sincere, in Pain resign'd ;
Still by the *Good* ador'd, the *Bad* approv'd,
By all, who *Truth* and *Virtue* love, belov'd ;
Such were the living Manners of the Man !
Such **TRENCHARD** was, and such the Course he ran.

Oh ! that his bright Example could inflame
Our Youth, with Love of **BRITAIN** and *true* Fame !
EXAMPLE, *living Law* ! whose Breath inspires
VICE with new Force, or fans fair **VIRTUE**'s Fires,
Exalts the *reas'ning Man* into the *God*,
Or *sinks* him — *Brute* in Error's dark Abode ;
For, when fair **VIRTUE** *stagnates* in the Brain,
And foul **CORRUPTION** *clogs* the *reas'ning Vein*,
When *false Taste* warps us to the flowr'y Plain,
Where SYREN Pleasure sings, nor sings in vain,
Man is not **Man**. Such Dictates are the Voice
Of *ruling Passion*, not found **REASON**'s Choice ;
Till *active VIRTUE* circ'lates in the Mind,
And gives its *reas'ning Streams* to flow *refin'd* ;

Refin'd,

P A T R I O T I S M.

II

Refin'd, as in that Scene, where WIT is SENSE,
Where ART is NATURE; GRANDEUR, INNOCENCE;
POLITENESS is SINCERITY of Life,
Which knows nor Hope nor Fear, Deceit nor Strife,
That rural SCENE, to which TRUE TASTE resorts,
Far from the *Farce* of *Pomp*, the *Guilt* of COURTS.

“ In what far Country lies this *rural Scene*?
“ Say, in UTOPIA dwells this *happy Mean*? ”
No. — In sage ONSL-w all those Charms engage;
Once, *Ornament*; now, *Pattern* of the Age,
Whom *Truth*, *Politeness*, *Sense*, united form,
And all the social God-like Virtues warm;
Whose Tongue a CATO's *Virtue* did inspire,
A TULLY's *Eloquence*, — a BRUTUS' *Fire*;
Who, in the *public* funk the *private* Care,
And grac'd the Honours BRITAIN bid him wear,
Skilful o'er madd'ning *Senates* to preside,
Heighten their *Dignity*, their *Councils* guide,
And wisely balance with impartial Weights,
The CROWN's *Prerogative* and PEOPLE's *Rights*;

D 2

Who,

Who, by his *King* esteem'd, by *all* approv'd,
Enjoys at Ease that *Liberty* he lov'd ;
Happy, to see those Virtues in his Line,
Reflected by his Son, with Splendor shine.

Virtue like this, gave old **ROME**'s Glory birth,
The Seat of Arts, the Mistress of the Earth.
Not *Birth*, nor *Int'rest*, crown'd with Wreaths the Brow,
Or call'd to Fame *Dictators* from the *Plough* ;
Places—(here **BR**—**N**'s Shame would check my Pen)
Were suited to the **TALENTS**—not the *Men* ;
TITLES were **VIRTUE**'s Mark, not *Slav'ry*'s Yoke,
And **PATRIOTISM** was held no **STANDING JOKE**.
Then Tides of Grandeur **TIBER**'s Channel swell'd,
For **LIBERTY** the Helm of Empire held ;
Till **LUXURY**, with slow but sure Deceit,
That *Bane* of *Freedom*, *Ruin* of a *State*,
Did her best Sons from *Virtue*'s Paths entice,
Unnerv'd their Minds, and soften'd them to *Vice* ;
Then **Poverty**, of **LUXURY** the Heir,
Begat **DEPENDENCE**, foul **CORRUPTION**'s Sire,

Whose

Whose *Bark* the *shameless PARRICIDE* conveys,
Thro' *Slav'ry's Voyage* with a *Wind* for Place.

Hence in *Elections, Votes* are truck'd for *Gold*,
And the *base FREEMEN* by *themselves* are *sold* ;
Hence *servile BR—B—Y* in a *S—n—te* reigns,
And the *bought M—M—R*'s pliant *Vote* constrains ;

O *BOROUGHS ! CONSTITUTION's rotten Part !*
ESAU's Descendants ! Boon of treacherous Art !
Are the *Laws silent, dare they not to bite,*
Or *still-born — without Life as without Weight ?*
Where is your *HAMPDENS's, RUSSEL's, SIDNEY's Blood,*
Who nobly for *OLD ENGLAND's Freedom* stood,
Who, warm'd by *Patriotism, by Truth* inspir'd,
Liv'd for her Good, and in her Cause expir'd ?

Hence *mad unnat'ral C-NT-N-NTAL Wars,*
Distract a Nation with *intestine Jars* ;
Hence *p-bl-c Debts* on *p-bl-c Debts* increase ;
And *Conquerors* submit to *p-rch-se Peace* ;

Taxes are doubled, Interest to pay ;
 And STOCK-JOBBING fits watching for its Prey ;
 Hence pilf'ring COM—SS—RIES Plums create,
 Suck'd from the Bowels of a B—r—pt State ;
 ENGROSSERS hence, those LOCUSTS of a Land,
 Starve the robb'd POOR, and yet, c-nn-v'd at, stand ;
 Hence an UN-TED C-MP-NY arose
 Ruin of Trade, of gen'ral Good the Foes,
 Harvest of M—N—G—RS those Tools of Knaves,
 Market of JOBBERS which the Weak deceives ;
 Hence CREDIT sinks, and COMMERCE hangs her Head ;
 Exc—SE Acts Freedom's nat'r'al Rights invade,
 With Iron Rod B—TE—S BR—T—N's awe,
 And Will, not Right, prescribes the Rule to Law ;
 Evils, whose dangerous, destructive Charms
 Revenge half-ruin'd FR—E of ——SH Arms.

Happy BRITANNIA ! that none croud tby Throne,
 But those, who seek tby Int'rest—not their own ;
 No latent Fraud, no well-dissembled Guile,
 Covers the dark Design, the treach'rous Smile ;

But

But that *thy* Interests all their Views controul,
And governs ev'ry Passion of the Soul ;
That *no* CORRUPTION's *Spawn*, *no* Tools of Pow'r,
Meer Birds of *Passage*, Statesmen of an *Hour*,
Like Mushrooms, rais'd to *spring up — rot — and die*,
Apostate Foes to Truth and LIBERTY,
Are at thy Helm call'd ever to preside,
Awe with their *Pow'r*, or with their *Brib'ry* guide.
ROME might from *Ploughs*, — You take not from a *Race*
NEWMARKET STATESMEN, NATIONAL DISGRACE !
As if 'twere JOCKEY's Art, a *State* to guide,
And MEN were govern'd, like the HORSE they ride ;
ABILITIES, not INTEREST, mark thy GREAT,
As fit, abroad, to represent thy State.
Un-like to FR—CE, you keep your FOOLS at HOME,
And send your MEN OF SENSE and PARTS to roam ;
On *Embassies* none go but those, whose Fires
True Genius kindles, CHARACTER inspires.
A *French Fop Dress* and *Fribble-Airs* imports ;
Thy Sons — *true Knowledge* bring from *foreign Courts*,
With comprehensive Head *their Int'rests* weigh,
And *not* an Ignorance of *thine betray*,

Fathom their *Depths* of *Policy*, or find
 Their *Shallows*, in *Reflection's* *Glass* refin'd,
 Their various *Commerce*, *Schemes*, *Cabals* explore,
 Thwart, or improve, as best may *raise* thy Pow'r;
No MILCH-Cow Thou, of ev'ry foreign Court!
Of FR—CE no Dupe! *of P—RT—G—L no Sport!*
Steer'd by *such Pilots*, *THY Ship* safe may *ride*,
Dare the loud *Storm*, and *stem* the angry *Tide*.
Wear'ſt thou the Laurel or the *Olive* *Crown*,
Their Wreaths shall o'er thy *Brow* reflect *Renown*.

How bleſt *that State* where *KING's* and *PEOPLE's* *Voice*
 Unite in one *disinterested* *Choice*?
 How great *that Senate*, who make *Right* their *End*,
 Whom *KING* and *PEOPLE* call their *equal* *Friend*?
 How God-like is *that Prince* who rules by *Laws*,
 And from fair *Virtue only*, seeks *Applause*;
 Whose innate *Goodness* speaks a *Royal Mind*
To VIRTUE, TRUTH, and LIBERTY inclin'd,
Sublimely graceful, and *serenely great*,
King in his *Subjects' Hearts*—the *nobleſt State*!

TRUE

TRUE PATRIOTISM no sordid End pursues,
Expands the Mind, and elevates its Views,
Pants to serve *Virtue's* Friend ; — no *Statesman's* Fool,
Freedom and *Truth* the Impulse of its Soul,
And leaves to PENSION'D SLAVES, — CORRUPTION's *Flies*,
All *grov'ling* — *selfish* — *solitary* Joys.
When *Royal* Favours from TRUE *Merit* springs,
It sheds a Lustre on the Gift of *Kings* ;
When *Kings* the *noble* still to *nobler* raise,
A People's Gratitude resounds his Praise :
And when TRUE MERIT's Sons *resign* a Place,
It *heightens* *Virtue*, *dignifies* *Disgrace* ;
It shews, that neither *Smiles* nor *Threats* can *blind*,
Or *shake* the steady Purpose of their Mind,
But, in their *Honour* wrap'd, they nobly soar,
Superior to the *Luſt* or *Loſs* of *Pow'r*,
And, *scorning* their *lov'd* *Country* to inthrall,
Tho' great in *Pow'r*, rise greater from their *Fall*.
Slave to no *Minifter*, I dare to own,
Among those *Few*, that R—CK—GH—M is one.
TRUE PATRIOTISM, by Principle refin'd,
Pour'd all its gen'rous Ardours thro' his Mind :

His *Country's* Good with each *unbias'd Pow'r*
 He sought, *ennobling* Honours which he wore :
 But, as a *true-born ENGLISHMAN* despairs
 To wear a Sc——n's *ignominious* Chains :
 Like some *great ACTOR*, he with *Honour* made
 His *Exit* in a *Part* with *Glory play'd*,
 And left with *Dignity* the *public Stage*,
 Justly convinc'd of *CATO*'s wise *Adage* ;
 " When *Vice* prevails, and *impious Men* grow great,
 " The Post of *Honour* is a *private State.*" *

Ye *INS* and *OUTS*, a *party-colour'd Crew* !
 With all your *boasted PATRIOTIC Shew*,
 Tell me, who of your *temporizing Train*
 Would labour for our *Good* — without the *Gain* ?
 Like *R—CK—GH—M*, so singularly *weak*,
 Would serve his *Country* for his *Country's Sake* ?
 And " Can such *Weakness* reign in noble *Souls* ?" +
 Cries *G— S—RD*, whom no *Mean* controuls ;

* Addison's *Cato*.

+ ————— *Tantæne animis cœlestibus, &c.* — *VIRC.*

No King could govern, and no People please,
Restless in Trust, impatient of Disgrace:
In TRUST, rapacious of the public Pay,
Av'rice, the Spring; Oeconomy the Plea;
Nor less intent new Maxims to explore,
And sacrifice our Rights to *abs'lute Pow'r*,
To bind Am—r—c—ns in G—ll—c Y—e
Ch—rt—rs, those Pillars of a State, he broke.
DISGRAC'D, he bellows for the *public Weal*,
And veils his Crimes with *Freedom's fictitious Zeal*.
Say what this *Impar sibi*, but a Mind
To *ruin* or to *rule* the State inclin'd?
To plead the *public Good*, but *mean—HIS OWN*,
Guiltless of Principle, to Truth unknown?
“ But tell us, *spotless* Sir! Do you not find
“ As great an *Impar sibi* in your Mind?
“ Reign'd CURIO not in thy Prosaic Pen,
“ Ablest of Ministers, and best of Men?
“ Why must he now be broke on *Satire's Wheel*?
“ Why be, thy *Friend*, with *Foes* her Scourges feel?
“ Has he refused thee— from a Want of Grace,
“ Poor *Ireland's Pension*, or a *J—dg—'s Place?*”

Ev'n CURIO's Levee ne'er was *my* Refort:
No STATESMAN's *Frowns* I dread, nor *Favours* court.
Truth will *Duplicity* abominate:
The TRIBUNE I *ador'd* — the *P—r* I hate;
Justly ador'd the TRIBUNE! but the *P—r*
Pluck'd down the Statues to the *Tribune* rear'd.
I deem no Man my *Foe*, but ENGL—D's Foe,
No *Friend*, but who is Engl—d's Friend, I know.
"What Party, Sir?" No Party — to be short;
No *Tool* of *Faction*, and no *Slave* of *Court*;
Equal to act in *Freedom*'s sacred Cause,
Or serve a PATRIOT KING who rules by Laws;
Firm to steer 'twixt (too conscious of their Springs)
Licentious C—MM—NS and *encroaching K—NGS*,
That SCYLLA and CHARIBDIS of a State;
Rocks, which some *shifting Statesmen* see too late.

'Tis strange to think, but yet we see, how few
Know their own Pow'rs, or, knowing them, pursue.
Of this *one* Instance, 'midst the *many rest*,
SEJANUS, great SEJANUS, stands confess,

Adorn'd

Adorn'd with ev'ry Gift and Art to please,
Humble with Dignity, Polite with Ease,
Grac'd with an EMP'ROR's Love, endu'd with Sense,
Patron of Learning, *learn'd* beyond Pretence ;
No airy Pleasure cheated him with Name ;
Kindled by Worth he burn'd with *social* Flame
In *private* Life, as *Husband*, *Father*, Friend,
Stranger to *SELF alone* — that *narrow* End.
But then — his *Rock* was Genius to mistake,
And *second* Talents for the *first* to take ;
The Summit of Ambition fir'd his Soul,
Nor could his *UNCLE*'s * sage Advice controul,
A *Luft* of Pow'r, by Prudence unrestrain'd,
The Lustre of his *private* Virtues stain'd :

* It is mentioned in History as an Anecdote of *Sejanus*, that, before his Master came to be *Emperor*, his *Uncle* (a *PATRICIAN* no less distinguished for his very eminent Abilities than for high Posts he held in the *Roman State*) told *Sejanus* that, “ in case his *Master*, when he came to be *Emperor*, should be inclined to make him *Minister*, a Mark of special Grace and personal Regard with which, he *foresaw*, “ it was not improbable that he would be honoured, he advised him by no means “ to accept it, as a Post to which his Abilities were not equal, and the Principles in “ which he had been educated were not adapted ; for that in his Opinion it would “ be his *Ruin* :” adding, “ That if he would be content to *limit* his *Ambition* to his “ Abilities, he would make a shining Figure on the *public* as well as *private* Stage of “ Life.”

Unequal to the Province he perfu'd,
 He stoop'd not to the Task he understood ;
 But, by a *boundless Rage* for *Pow'r* possess'd,
 By *Sycophants* besieg'd, by *Kn—ves* caress'd,
 He seiz'd the Reins of Empire with mad Joy,
 And seem'd to govern—only to *destroy* ;
 Till, *bunted* by the *Good*, by *all* disprais'd,
Deserted by the *very Tools* he rais'd,
 He tumbled from the Pinnacle of Pow'r,
 The *Phaetontic* Statesman of an Hour.

Let *foul CORRUPTION*, from a conscious Dread,
 Sicken in Shades, and hide her baneful Head !
 Let *FACTION*, stripp'd by *UNION* of her Crest,
 Die on the Spear she rais'd to pierce her Breast !
 Let *PARTY-Rage*, that *Waste* of *British* Fire,
 By Madness kindled, *Taper*-like expire !
 Then shall *one* Contest in *all* Ranks prevail,
 That *nobleſt Contest*—for the *PUBLIC WEAL*.
 Our *Statesmen*, *Patriots* in more than—*Word*,
 Shall think that “ *VIRTUE IS HER OWN REWARD* ;”

Shall

Shall strive to exalt BRITANNIA's *drooping* Head,
Nourish her Arts, and raise her *sinking* Trade,
Add to her Glory, aggrandize her Pow'r,
And o'er the Land their halcyon Influence shew'r;
Influence so *justly* *pois'd*, as stands confest
To make the MONARCH *great*, the PEOPLE *bleft*.

Then noble W—Y—M—T—H, on whose magic Tongue
Old *Romans* with Attention might have hung,
Shall *know* his *mental* Pow'rs, and boldly rise
Unpropp'd, and on *his own* Base, to the Skies;
Shall *know*, his *past* Connexions are but vain,
And loose his Neck from such *ignoble* Chain,
Whilst *lift'ning* *Senates*, guided by his Skill,
Confess, in *him* they hear great *Tully* still.
JUSTICE shall guard our Rights, nor dread Disgrace,
While C—M—D—N adds new Lustre to the Place,
Who, rob'd in *Honour*, *Equity*, and *Law*,
Rescues th' *Oppressed* from th' *Oppressor's* Claw,
Softens *Law's* Rigour, smooths the Brow of Care,
Nor leaves to TRUTH or INNOCENCE a Fear;

Whose *nervous Rhet'ric*, clear *discerning Head*,
 And *just Decrees* diffusive Blessings shed ;
 Which to *all Ranks and Persons* he displays,
Impartial like the *SUN*, with *equal Rays*.
 But how can Worth, like *bis*, by *me* be shown,
 That asks the Tongue of *CH—TH—M*, or — *bis own* ?
T—MPLE and *GR—NTH—M*, as *chief Scribes*, shall guide,
 And *EGM—T* o'er the *ADM'RALTY* preside ;
 Polite with *Dignity*, with *Knowledge* stor'd,
 Great *L—TTLET—N* shall grace the *Council-Board* ;
STR—GE, *N—RTH*, and *C—NW—Y* shall the *C—mm—ns* lead,
 And *H—L—F—X* adorn the Board of *Tr—de*.
 Here I must stop — a *Financer* refin'd,
 A *COLBERT* or a *WALPOLE* — *Time* must find.

Let *FR—CE*'s daftard Sons, thro' *bigot Fear*,
Base SLAVES, embrace the shameful Chains they wear :
 Happy *BRITANNIA* ! who alone can boast
 That Freedom *other* abject States have lost :
 With Iron Rod shall *K—s* thy *Fasces* break,
 And bow beneath a servile Yoke *tby* Neck ?

Forbid

Forbid it, Pow'rs above!

“ O LIBERTY !

“ Our Boast, our Right, our sole Felicity,

“ For whom in ANCIENT Times thy Sons have fought

“ Thro' Fields of Death, nor thought thee dearly bought,

“ Do thou, AS ERST, their free-born Breasts inspire

“ With sanguine Love of THEE—with ROMAN Fire !

“ Charge them to guard thy Laws, thy sacred Laws,

“ Writ with their Fathers' Blood, OR—PERISH IN THY CAUSE !

F I N I S.

